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## TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MISSIONARY PLANS.

AFTER the Rev. Thomas Bray left Oxford, in 1678, he was pastor at Lee Marton, in Warwickshire, where he was only ten miles from Tamworth, to which town the Rev. John Rawlet, a native of the place, dying in 1686, at the age of forty-four, had left his library. It was deposited in a large room in the Almshouse, and free access was given to any neighboring clergyman. Forty years later Bray wrote: "Indeed it was usual for some of us to ride even ten miles to borrow out of it the book we had occasion for." The use of this library, and the fact that another of Bray's acquaintances became a learned man without owning many books, through the fact that he had the use of two excellent private libraries near his residence, caused Bray to conceive the plan of establishing parochial libraries for the benefit of the clergy.

Some years later, Bray, who had achieved prominence through a series of catechetical lectures, was selected by the Bishop of London to go as his commissary to Maryland "to model that infant church and establish it on a solid foundation." This appointment was accepted by Bray, after he had secured from the bishops the assurance that they would "encourage and assist him in providing parochial libraries for the ministers who should be sent."

The ministers "could not be useful to the design of their mission" without such books, and "a library would be the best encouragement to studious and sober men to go into the service." These were two thoughts that he constantly reiterated in England. There were vexatious delays in Bray's starting for Maryland, so that he did not leave England until December, 1699. He was not idle, however, but constantly preached his plans for libraries, prepared and published a bibliography of religious works, and a pamphlet showing "what provision is wanting for the propagation of Christianity in

America." Libraries and missionaries he sent over before him, not limiting his beneficence to Maryland, but including in his plans all the North American colonies and the "factories of Africa." His ideas broadened in their scope as the months passed. In the capital of each province should be a lending library for the clergy and gentry—that is, for all the reading classes—and the collection sent to Annapolis was the finest library of the day in the English plantations. Soon he found that there must be a permanent organization to carry on the work of establishing libraries and "propagating Christianity," since he tried in vain for an appropriation from the crown or from Parliament. "A general plan of the constitution of a Protestant Congregation or Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" was drawn by Bray, and, as the time did not seem ripe for an application for a charter, he organized "a voluntary society," having as its purposes to provide missionaries abroad, to "perfect the design of fixing parochial libraries throughout the plantations, in order to render both these missionaries and all the other clergy in the plantations useful and serviceable in the propagation of the Christian faith and manners. It was also proposed to provide for the widows and orphans of the missionaries, as well as to give pensions as rewards to deserving ministers, especially such "as shall most hazard their persons in attempting the conversion of the negroes or native Indians."

At home the society would propagate Christian knowledge by catechetical libraries in the smaller parishes and lending libraries for the clergy in market towns, and by setting up catechetical schools for the education of poor children in reading, writing, and the principles of the Christian religion. So came into being the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge—Bray having associated four others with him as founders. Two months after the organization of the society, he presented a paper before it, in which he called attention to the facts that thirty parochial libraries were already "advanced to a pretty good perfection and a foundation laid of seventy more, in all to the value of near two thousand pounds," while five hundred pounds' worth of good books had

been dispensed gratis among the people in England. Something had been done toward raising funds for a "charitable plantation in Carolina to be stocked with negroes," for "widows and orphans of the deceased clergy who die poor in that province and Bermuda." A subscription had been begun to send missionaries to the Quakers, who are "totally apostatized" from the Christian faith, and "may be looked upon as a heathen nation."

But there was still another object which Bray urged upon the society—namely, the conversion of the "Indians, by providing for education of some of their youths in schools, whence they could be sent back as the properest persons to convert the rest." Bray was indefatigable in pushing forward the work of the society, nearly always being present as the central figure at its early meetings. When absent, we find that he is in Holland seeking a grant of money from King William for the promotion of religion in the plantations. It is not surprising that the society writes Gov. Francis Nicholson, on October 3, 1700, that "the main part of their design with relation to America is to assist Dr. Bray in the raising of libraries for the clergy and in distributing practical books amongst the laity." Bray's mission to Maryland was thought so important that Archbishop Tenison said on August 8, 1700, it would be "of the greatest consequence imaginable to the establishment of religion in America," and Viscount Weymouth wrote, on July 6, 1700: "I am glad Dr. Bray is arrived safe at his station, and hope the bishops will make him one of their number, that he may have some power over the clergy of that world." Early in 1700 Bray arrived in Maryland, held a visitation, preached before the Assembly, and induced it to pass an amended act establishing the Anglican Church in the province, and returned to England with this act to secure the royal assent. This was obtained, but for some reason Bray did not go out again to America. He accepted a living in London, threw himself into schemes for civic reform, and was a faithful pastor until his death, in 1729.

On Bray's return to England he made known the conditions in America, and found that many would help the spirit-

ually destitute there if a chartered company were formed. Consequently, early in 1701, he sent the King a petition that such a charter be granted. It was given; and on June 23, 1701, the charter was laid by Bray before the new Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the thanks of the society were tendered him for "his great care and pains in procuring it."

Ralph Thoresby, the Antiquary, wrote in his diary on May 31, 1712, of meeting Dr. Bray, "who is so eminently concerned in propagating the gospel among the heathen and other pious designs for reformation of manners." Eleven years later, on May 15, 1723, he wrote that he "walked to the pious and charitable Dr. Bray's, at Aldgate; was extremely pleased with his many pious, useful, and charitable projects, which detained me most of the afternoon." On the 26th of the same month, Thoresby walked on Sunday to Aldgate, where Dr. Bray preached excellently both ends of the day concerning the ascension of Christ. He "heard the charity children catechised, and was extremely surprised at the prodigious pains so aged a person undertakes; he is very mortified as to the world, and has taken abundance of trouble to have a new church erected in this large parish, though it would lessen the revenue one hundred pounds per annum to him, but he hopes would be for more general good to his parochians."

The foundation of these two great societies and the work of a city parish did not so occupy Bray as to cause him to turn aside from his two great objects of founding libraries and caring for the neglected classes in the American plantations. In the endeavor to promote the former object, he published an essay in 1703 "to show the incompetent provision there is in many parishes" in England, and was largely instrumental in securing the passage of an act of Parliament in 1708 "for better preservation of parochial libraries in England." Toward the latter object, he especially longed to do something for the negro slaves and the aborigines, conceiving "nothing so desirable as to be the instrument of recovering those lost sheep and bringing them into the fold of their heavenly pastor."

His earnestness and singleness of purpose in this matter "endeared him to the esteem" of Abel Tassin D'Allone, "cabinet secretary" to both William and Mary. This gentleman, who possessed "great penetration and address in managing State affairs," and was also noted for his "pious disposition of mind," induced by Bray's arguments, "gave in his lifetime a sum to be applied to the conversion of the negroes, desiring withal the doctor to direct the management and disposition of it." Furthermore, D'Allone bequeathed nine hundred pounds to "Dr. Bray and his associates, toward creating a capital fund or stock for converting the negroes in the British plantations." In 1726, Bray named four men to be associated with him, and thus established the organization still doing good work and bearing the name of "Dr. Bray's Associates for Founding Clerical Libraries and Supporting Negro Schools."

Shortly before this work was begun, a young clergyman, George Berkeley, Dean of Londonderry, in England, later to be known as a famed philosopher and as the Bishop of Cloyne, then heavy hearted over the condition of affairs in England after the bursting of the South Sea bubble, wrote to his friend, Lord Percival: "The reformation of manners among the English in our Western plantations and the propagation of the gospel among the American savages are two points of high moment. The natural way of doing this is by founding a college or seminary in some convenient part of the West Indies." As early as 1722, Berkeley's thoughts turned to the Bermudas as the place where he longed to spend the rest of his life, and for several years he devoted his energies toward an endeavor to found his college there. A man of great intellect, a most agreeable companion, possessed of considerable means through a fortunate legacy from Swift's "Vanesa," intimately acquainted with the great men of the day, the prospects for his undertaking seemed favorable. He set out to obtain a government grant, and seems to have sought for no help from private sources. The story is well known: he published his memorable tract in 1725, waited in England several years for the expected support, sailed for America, settled in Rhode Island, and, buying a farm there, spent four years in quiet and philosophic thought.

A most interesting light on Berkeley's experience in America is thrown by a letter to him, dated April 29, 1729, written by Henry Newman, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who had given Berkeley a letter of introduction to the Governor of Rhode Island in the previous year. Newman writes: "I shall be glad to hear that things answer your expectation and that your main design may at length be accomplished, if not in the manner you first proposed, yet in such a one as may be effectual. I believe you are now satisfied that if you had made a short voyage to America before you had published your proposal you would have very much altered your scheme; but I hope you will have it in your power to rectify your first project in whatever it was amiss, and that your friends here may easily obtain a royal license for such alterations as may be recommended to you."

That he made one effort while in America to accomplish either of his purposes in coming thither, cannot be proved. He was truly an idealist, a dreamer of brilliant dreams. Bray's intellect was less brilliant, but his was a practical mind, and his missionary work lives, and through the societies he founded has influenced hundreds of thousands of lives; while the definite result of Berkeley's came chiefly through his gift of books and his Rhode Island farm to Yale College, when he returned to England. This he did in 1731, giving up the "notion of founding a university at Bermuda for Indian scholars and missionaries," as he found the British government would give him no support.

Let us examine his plan and compare it with the one which Dr. Bray published in opposition. Berkeley's plan is outlined in his "Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda." Shortly after the publication of the pamphlet, a royal charter was granted him, for St. Paul's College, to be situated in those islands. He selected an island site for his college, because he was afraid that the populous parts of the continent would not be suitable, from the "ac-

counts given of their avarice and licentiousness, their coldness in the practice of religion, and their aversion from propagating it which appears in the withholding their slaves from baptism," and that the "remote parts" would not be satisfactory through danger from savage attack, want of intercourse, and difficulty of receiving the necessary supplies.

At any rate, intercourse between different parts of the continent was so difficult that he thought nothing would be gained by placing his college there, while much was gained from placing the institution in an island about equidistant from all the colonies, which maintained constant intercourse with the other colonies, and whose commerce was chiefly with America and not Europe. Berkeley's tract shows that he has listened to accounts of low moral conditions in America, but has made no careful investigation. He seems ignorant or careless of the existence of Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale, and says no savage American has ever been given a "thorough education in religion and morality, in divine and human learning," thus overlooking the existence of the Brafferton School and of the fact that a number of Indians had studied at Harvard.

He knows Codrington College, in Barbadoes, but thinks there is too much luxury and dissoluteness on that island, and that provisions are too high there. While he referred to the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with respect, he wrote: "It is nevertheless acknowledged that there is at this day but little sense of religion and a most notorious corruption of manners in the English colonies settled on the continent of America and the Islands." He is correct in saying that "the gospel hath hitherto made but a very inconsiderable progress among the neighboring Americans," but even that statement might have been qualified by more exact knowledge of the "Scotch Society" and of the work of the "Apostle" John Eliot and others among the "praying Indians" of Massachusetts. There was too much truth in his statement that many of the clergy sent to America are "very meanly qualified both in learning and morals for the discharge of their office." Little could be expected from



such men as quit England, because "they are unable to procure a livelihood in it;" and to the character of the clergy Berkeley attributes the fact that the negroes remain in heathenism. Even men of merit lack qualifications for converting the American heathen, from the difference of language, the wild way of living of the savages, and the great jealousy and prejudice which they have toward foreigners. Berkeley recognized one of the great principles of foreign missionary work—that the mass of a people can best be reached by members of their own race—but he did not discriminate between the two purposes of the clergymen in America, which were so diverse that one man could hardly at the same time be pastor of a white congregation and missionary to the aborigines. So, too, we feel sure that a more careful study of Harvard and Yale later must have modified his ideas of the great need of a college in that section of the plantations "to train up plantation youth" to fill churches "now a drain for the very dregs and refuse of ours." The details of his course of instruction for the Indians seem not to have been worked out. We merely learn that he proposed to transport to the Bermudas children under ten years of age, either voluntarily given by their parents or obtained by taking captive the children of our enemies. He was able to see that not all of these would be found "likely to improve by academic studies," and suggested that such "may be taught agriculture or the most necessary trades."

During the quarter century which had elapsed since he left Maryland, Bray had not lost touch with the province; but had kept up intercourse with prominent men there, both clergy and laymen, and held interviews with such Maryland clergymen as Henderson, one of the commissaries, Ranisford, and Tustian on the occasion of their visits to England. He had been among the Indians, and remembered that "the Queen of Pamonki's people were formerly a considerable nation, but now have been reduced to not many scores. And in my parochial visitation toward the falls of the Potomac, I passed by the huts of such another caste, far from being a numerous horde or tribe. I think they call them the Potapski

Indians." He received D'Allone's bequest about the time that Berkeley published his "Proposal," and spent most of the following year in preparing a counterplan and a vigorous attack upon that of Berkeley. These are contained in an excessively rare work, lately acquired by the Maryland Historical Society, which possesses a remarkably complete collection of Bray's writings, and which has recently republished a number of them in its Fund Publications. The work, whose title covers two pages, is apparently incomplete, and was issued in parts during the years 1727 and 1728, further progress being doubtless prevented by Bray's death, on February 15, 1729, shortly after Berkeley had gone to America. What effect Bray's work had in England or America, we know not, but the originality of the ideas and the essential modernity of Bray's plans make it a noteworthy work, while its attack upon Berkeley's plan is very effective. The book is entitled: "Missionalia, or a Collection of Missionary Pieces Relating to the Conversion of the Heathen, both the African Negroes and the American Indians. In Two Parts."

Part I. contains "A Letter to the Reverend Commissaries and Clergy of Maryland, Exhorting Them to and Pointing Out the Method of Carrying on Such Conversions;" and a memorial to the said "Clergy, desiring them to inform the Trustees of Mr. D'Allone's bequest of the most probable methods in their power of undertaking that good work with success, more especially as it respects the American Indians." With these Bray reprints the "Life of Bernard Gilpin," by George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, that Gilpin's work among the neglected classes may inspire the clergy to follow him therein, and also several chapters in Latin, "De Enunciando Evangelio," from a work entitled "De Conversione Omnium Gentium Procuranda," by Thomas a Jesu, a Carmelite monk. This is reprinted, as it is necessary to study heathenism before one can convert the heathen, and the Carmelite's "curious account of the state of modern heathenism" and his "admirable scheme of doctrine" are better than anything done by the Anglicans, though the latter have the better religion. A third tract added is an "Account of the Life of the Reverend

John Rawlett," by Bray, prefaced to a "Consolatory Letter" of Rawlett, to his mother on his apprehension of dying by the plague in 1665, which was hitherto unprinted. The second part of the work, which seems to have remained incomplete, was entitled "Primordia Bibliothecaria Missionalia." This was addressed to the Maryland clergy, "into whose hands those books shall be disposed, which are sent in for their use toward the conversion of the negroes." Bray's old library ideas are still strongly held by him, and he considers books "absolutely necessary to the success of missions." The Rev. Mr. Eversfield had been sent out on October 30, 1727, as "Curator of the Conversions," and with him went a fresh supply of the catechetical books sent out in 1700; for the earlier ones, "being small pieces so much handled by children and youth, they must be supposed wore out or lost by this." This part of the book contains only a partial "scheme of a diminutive or catechetical library in embryo, with full directions to clergymen" as to its use.

Eversfield also took with him "a collection of the choicest Missionalia, as well Popish (*et fas est ab hoste doceri*) as Protestant, that can be found, giving an account of the nature and situation of mind and condition of life of the people to be converted, and of that scheme of doctrine necessary for that institution and of the best method of dealing with them. Bray felt that a recent unsuccessful experiment in missionary work in Delagoa Bay showed that it was inexpedient to carry on any enterprise with D'Allone's money in Africa, and, turning his thoughts to the negroes in America, he consulted three Maryland clergymen then in London, "whether the parochial clergy would not be the most proper persons to whose care this might be committed, being the necessary means—namely, books." The response was most encouraging. They unanimously declared we might be assured of at least twenty or twenty-five worthy ministers in that province, who would heartily engage in it, being provided of the assistances proposed, and were not diffident of good success, with the blessing of God, on their and our endeavors. Nor did they doubt but that also several of the more sober and

considerate gentlemen, heads of families among the planters, would readily give way, as some have already done, to have their negro slaves instructed and baptized.

This effort to benefit "many thousand negro slaves engaged in the planting of tobacco," as we shall see, entitles Bray to stand as a pioneer in the cause of negro education, even before the Rev. Thomas Bacon. Bray springs to the defense of the plantation clergy against the "libel" of Dean Berkeley, and states that after Bray's visit to Maryland "there went over at first, all to a man and with great satisfaction (I understand there are at this day some), as good, faithful parish ministers, with as few exceptions of persons otherwise qualified, as in any part of his majesty's dominions." For nearly a generation, there have been in every parish in Maryland (save two, for which it is hoped soon to make provision) "standing encouragements" to the clergy, in the shape of the parochial libraries. There are also "two degrees of superior and general libraries, provided on purpose as to stimulate the studious," and the province has enacted laws to "preserve those libraries for the use of all future successions of ministers." It is found that "(except in one or two places, which yet is too much) none hath hitherto suffered loss or embezzlement," and Bray trusts that an idle and illiterate drone" will never possess such treasures. He also hopes that after his death others will be "careful still to improve those libraries, as new books of value from time to time shall be published." His hope was in vain; no new supplies came. The libraries, gradually forgotten, moldered in corners of parsonages, and most of the new books were destroyed.

Bray proposes that new clergymen be sent who may be "serviceable to the instruction of all the planters." They should be kept in England for a year at least, as candidates on probation, to prove their character and intellect. During that year, one or two such could be supported from the income from D'Allone's bequest and required to read and digest missionary books, as well as to preach to the poor prisoners in two of "the most forlorn prisons in the outparts" of London, "thus the better to inure them to the most distant

part of their office and to bring them to a temper of mind and facility of expression, to the level and low capacities of the most ignorant." This anticipation of the requirement of city mission work from theological students is interesting. It is also worthy of remark that Bray's interest in prisons was a deep one, and that, through him, it is probable Oglethorpe was likewise interested and the movement began which led to the establishment of the colony of Georgia.

The main part of Bray's plan, as far as the parochial clergy is concerned, was to have them labor among the negroes, and he especially exhorted them to this work. Berkeley "hath been pleased to blacken you for neglecting the Indians in a very free way, as neglecting what he very groundlessly supposes the ends of your mission to the American plantations (and I say groundlessly supposed, because you were sent to preach the gospel to the English planters, to prevent their turning heathen in time)." If his stories gain credence, the Crown may withdraw its grant to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and even D'Allone's bequest be diverted into the Dean's fund. Bray still bears a "singular affection to the whole province and in an especial manner to the clergy therein," and desires them to teach the negroes to "read, to say the catechism, and to pray," as a preparation to their baptism. Not only should they do this themselves, as occasion offers, but they should also urge the schoolmasters and some of the better disposed families "of their respective cures to teach the young negroes to spell and onward till they can read, as also the Church catechism and some prayers by heart." The Maryland parishes are so large "that the greatest part of the planters cannot reach the churches" more than once on a Sunday, and "even that not without horses," yet the wealthier planters have as many souls as "some of our smaller country parishes." Such planters, from ten to twenty miles distant from a church, "who are tinctured with some sense of religion," might be persuaded "on Sunday afternoons" to set up a course of family religion and worship in their houses, "with prayers, responsive reading of the scriptures, singing psalms, and catechising." "O, what happy seeds of piety

would then be sown in such families!" Bray exclaims, and the history of the negro in America shows the fulfillment of his wish. He sends collections of psalms and hymns, as these "well sung" form a most delightful as well as divine part of worship, and are "found with us a means very efficacious and inciting to bring the youth especially to church. Planters ought also to direct their overseers or others to instruct those poor heathen, having souls immortal as their own."

Bray urged the clergy to start this work at once and let him have an account of their beginnings when the ships return in the autumn. "If only one planter's family be converted, more will often be accomplished than by the instruction of a whole nation of Indians." "So that you will thereby, in no ways, come behind in your success, the Great Undertaker to Convert Heathens who promises here such great things of that kind, at the same time loudly exclaiming, but very injuriously, I am persuaded, against the clergy in America, for not making it your care to convert the heathen." Bray assured many "when occasion offers, of your zeal and endeavors to do what you can, and as far enabled to convert the blacks, who are by far the more numerous body of heathens in those parts." Nor does he confine himself to a defense of the American clergy, but also makes a vigorous attack on Berkeley for his protracted residence in England while Dean of Londonderry, in Ireland, and thanks God that the clergy in Maryland have not learned that "refined art, so lately invented, of leaving cures in a country as much wanting laborers proportionable for the harvest, being a numerous people, as barbarous as the Indians with you, to come over here to amuse the world" with such a proposal as Berkeley's.

So much for the negroes; for the Indians also Bray had thoughts. His plan with reference to them has three important features which will be recognized as characteristically modern: grant of lands in severalty, combination of industrial and religious education, and training of youth in close contact with the tribe. He urged the Maryland clergy not to omit anything which "can be done toward the conversion of the American Indians," and to try to "reduce them to civil

life, and at the same time to the knowledge of the true God and of Jesus Christ." This they may do by "visiting the Indian nations bordering upon them." Bray then unfolded his plan to the clergy and asked information as to the Indians, and whether his plan, Berkeley's, or some third one was more practicable. Bray's plan was already drafted for the unsuccessful Delagoan Mission, and was accompanied with an outline of a full course of Christian instruction.

The project is so important as to justify quotation at some length. Two or three artificers of sober conversation, together with their wives, both of some competent knowledge in religion, should be sent to live and abide "among the Indians." The artificers principally "should be carpenters, tillers of land, and tailors." The whole Indian "clan should be induced by these persons," persuaded, to divide that tract of land belonging to them, allotting to every one having wife and children a distinct proportion, which he may call his property, these artificers coming in also for a share. The carpenter should, together with his own house, offer to build them little houses, calling for their assistance to fell timber, to saw it, and, afterwards, to help them in the erection of houses. The tiller of land should instruct and assist them in raising corn and breeding up cattle; the tailor, in making up clothes; and the wives of each of these artificers should teach the Indian squaws, with their daughters, to milk their own cows, to make butter and cheese, and to spin linen and sew their own garments. So far as to the civil life. And then as to the religious and moral, each of these artificers, with their wives, ought to be well chosen; persons who shall understand their religion, and who can communicate to the others their own sentiments as to all the foregoing points, divine and moral, in the whole scheme of instruction proposed. The good wives of the several artificers might "put up little schools, as in our country villages, to teach the Indian children to spell and read." The success of this scheme would be glorious to the British nation and a security against the French instigators of Indian warfare. Bray did not intend by his plan to lay on the clergy any burden other than

what they will take pleasure in sustaining. He knew the local conditions in Maryland, and has had "good accounts both of your labors and success" in "the instruction and saving of souls" among the parishioners. The parishes, especially in the outskirts nearest the Indian nations, were in "length and breadth forty, fifty, or sixty miles or over; whence it is that, besides your ordinary duty of preaching, you are almost daily called out to baptize children and visit the sick, to bury the dead, and each of these sometimes twenty or more miles from the rectories. Under these circumstances we consider you as having no time or leisure to make excursions among the Indian nations." In any case no permanent result would be accomplished, save "by living constantly among them and in the midst of them." The clergy, however, can ride occasionally to visit the artificers, to encourage and direct them, and to supply necessary books, "being internuncios, as it were, between them and those who may assist the good design here."

Bray next criticises Berkeley's plan. The Bermudas are very barren, and the inhabitants are in great distress. The islands are so populous that the price of land is high. The population consists chiefly of sailors and of "the roughest and rudest sorts of people, so that the place is least fitted for retirement, contemplation, or study," while the mainland colonies are vastly distant, being upward of two hundred leagues away. None of these inconveniences can occur if a situation is sought upon the continent. "The Indians, the most silent and sedate people in the world, will not interrupt or dissipate with clamor or noise the thoughts of the studious" in the wilderness. Berkeley "might, with the greatest ease in the world," have known of the work of Harvard and of William and Mary. It has been found that it was very difficult to get the Indians to come fifty miles to the latter college, and that, on return to their tribe, they often sank back to savagery. How then could students voluntarily be obtained to go to the Bermudas, and would not the Indian tribes be very jealous and refuse to receive those who had been instructed to seize Indian children by force and carry them to Berkeley's seminary. It



would be an imitation of what "slave traders do to serve their god Mammon" and would "infinitely misbecome us in the service of Christ." There is an "absolute necessity of civilizing—nay, humanizing—those savages in order to, or rather concurrently with, the Christianizing of them," Bray wrote, and to this sentiment the great army of missionaries to the savages would say amen.

Another great objection to Berkeley's plan was its expense. Bray's calculation made the prime cost to be seven thousand and five hundred pounds and the annual cost five hundred pounds, if but five Indians were trained; while Bray's plan had a prime cost of about eight hundred pounds, and the annual expenses would be two hundred pounds. If more money be raised, "it will tend vastly more toward forwarding the design, to build many houses or habitations among the Indians themselves, than one college six or seven hundred miles distant from them." The mission should be an "ambulatory" one, and instead of building "material fabrics of stone and mortar," the effort should be to erect "spiritual and living temples to the Holy Ghost."

By Bray's plan, too, the English would learn the Indian languages, and the government would do better to support this plan, as it has provisions to civilize, as well as to instruct, the Indians. Berkeley would do well to adopt Bray's plan, and would find business enough to occupy himself to find out proper artificers, "improve them," settle them in their several stations on the borders of the Indian tribes, see that proper equipment and salaries are provided, and make progresses into the Indian tribes to inspect and reward the artificers, perfect their instruction, and at length to baptize the Indians.

In Bray's "Missionalia" is printed a letter from Rev. Peter Tustian, rector of St. Paul's Creek Parish, "concerning the best methods of converting the neighboring Indians." This is the only known reply to Berkeley's "Proposal" from one of the clergy he attached, and is thus of some importance. Tustian does not believe the Indians will voluntarily send their children to the Bermudas, for they are "exceedingly fond of their liberty, obstinately tenacious of their customs, and,

being naturally jealous, are more than ordinarily so of the English, who, they are sensible, have many advantages of them already." It would be "no evangelical method of propagating Christianity to take their children by force," and it would "involve us in a bloody war," or "encourage one nation to prey upon another." Tustian speaks from the personal conversations I have had with several of them in different and remote colonies or from a diligent observation and the best information which could be obtained, and found them "very curious and subtle in their conduct, weighing everything of moment with the most mature deliberation." "Their numbers lessen yearly," and they will not be "such weak politicians as to part with the flower of their youth, merely for the sake of a little learning which they do not value."

He regarded work among negro slaves as much more hopeful, and has several Christian negroes now in his parish, "who are constant communicants and careful to have their children baptized and instructed, doing something toward it themselves. Though in his seven years in the province Tustian had not gained "an universal acquaintance" with the clergy, yet to his certain knowledge several would be very glad to exert themselves on such an occasion, omitting nothing on their parts that could reasonably be expected of them. But books are oftentimes so scarce and dear that I have known white children to be balked of their learning for want of Bibles to read in, their parents being either not able or not willing to be at the expense." Berkeley's "Utopian Seminary" came to naught, but the labors of Christian planters and clergymen throughout the colonies made the negro race Christians, and we are nowadays working among the Indians largely along the lines laid down by Bray.

BERNARD C. STEINER.